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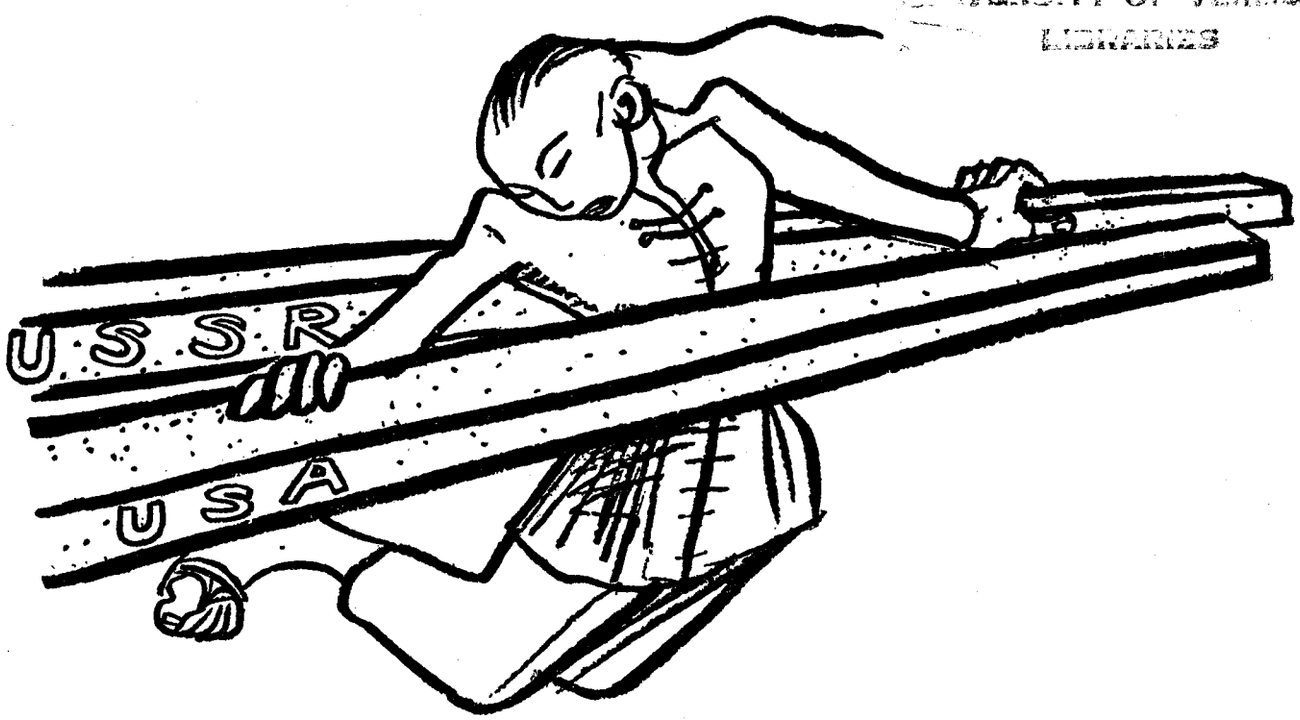

Churchill and the UNO

Editorial

Keep Atomic Energy Free! . . *Helen Gahagan Douglas*

A Strategy for Britain . . . . . *R. H. S. Crossman*

Sabotaging Chinese Unity . . . . . *Richard Watts Jr.*

Mass Meeting for FEPC . . . . . *Ralph G. Martin*

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All in favor raise right hands . . . *with wallets*

Naturally we want our boys home. The sooner the better.

But how much are we willing to do about it?

Are we willing to pay for bringing them back? If we are, we'll buy *extra* Bonds in the Victory Loan.

And after these fellows get home—these men who have fought and won the toughest war America has ever known—what then?

We want to take care of the injured ones, of course. We want to see that the young fellows who went off to fight get a chance to finish their education. We want to see that there are jobs—plenty of decent jobs—for the men who've been doing the world's meanest job at army pay.

How much are we willing to do about that?

If we're really serious about wanting to see that our men get what they have so richly earned, we'll buy *extra* Bonds in the Victory Loan.

Now's the time. Let's have a show of hands—with wallets—to prove how much we really want to hear that old familiar step and that familiar voice yelling "It's *me!*" Let's prove, with pocketbooks, that we can do our job as well as they did theirs.

THEY FINISHED THEIR JOB—
LET'S FINISH OURS!

VICTORY LOAN

Space contributed by THE NEW REPUBLIC

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Greatest of All Our Hopes

"THE GREATEST of all our hopes," said Dr. Gavrilovich, "is the United Nations. Its new way of life must be our goal and our faith."

In New York, the Secretariat of the UNO is being organized and the way prepared for the all-important session of the Security Council. In Savannah, the International Trade Organization is preparing a program for world reconstruction. In London, UNESCO is undertaking its work of education in world citizenship. In Nuremberg, the legal basis of a world society is being established. "Mankind," said Robert Jackson, "is applying and developing codes of conduct and law for humanity itself as an entity, and regardless of nationality. . . . International law and morality are the basis for this progress and not separate national legal structures."

What a world of shining hope! But the ropes that hold this structure are twisting and creaking under the strain of growing forces that are tearing the world apart. The issues of Indonesia, Iran, Manchuria, Bulgaria, Spain, which have driven the world toward war, will soon be overshadowed by Greece, Turkey, Tripolitania, India. There is certain to be an increasing violence among the peoples of the British Empire. There is certain to be increasing resistance to Soviet expansion. There is certain to be an increasing stress upon opposing popular movements for *strategic* reasons because they are Communist-led and will improve the *strategic* position of the Soviet Union. This bankrupt reasoning is pushing us into defense, or half-hearted opposition to tyranny in Spain, inaction in the colonies, reaction in Southeastern Europe and corruption in the Middle East. We richly deserve the condemnation of *Pravda* for our actions.

All the dangers of America a century ago are present in this world: all the undertones of the "irrepressible conflict" can already be heard.

It is certain that as the tensions rise, we shall hear from Left and Right the old chant of the fascists: *those who are not for us are against us.*

Soviet actions have been distorted until an obscene parallel has been drawn between the Soviet government and the Nazis. The counter-strategy of the Left, faced with an Anglo-American alliance against the USSR, is to condemn the British loan and work for a Soviet-American alliance against the British Empire.

The first of these doctrines asserts, finally, that there can be no lasting peace until the world is united under Western democracy. The second asserts that there can be no lasting peace until the world is united under Soviet democracy.

Both doctrines lead to war. The only basis for peace today is the acceptance of the peaceful coexistence of the two democracies under the UNO, as David Zaslavsky recently argued over the Moscow radio, as Franklin Roosevelt maintained when he returned from Yalta to tell Congress: *"I have never lost faith that a common meeting ground can be found."*

America has an extraordinary opportunity in providing the common meeting ground for diverse faiths. We are not facing up to our responsibility. R. H. S. Crossman, in his article published in this issue, assumes without illustration the presence of "the really appalling conflicts of policy which divide Russia and Amer-

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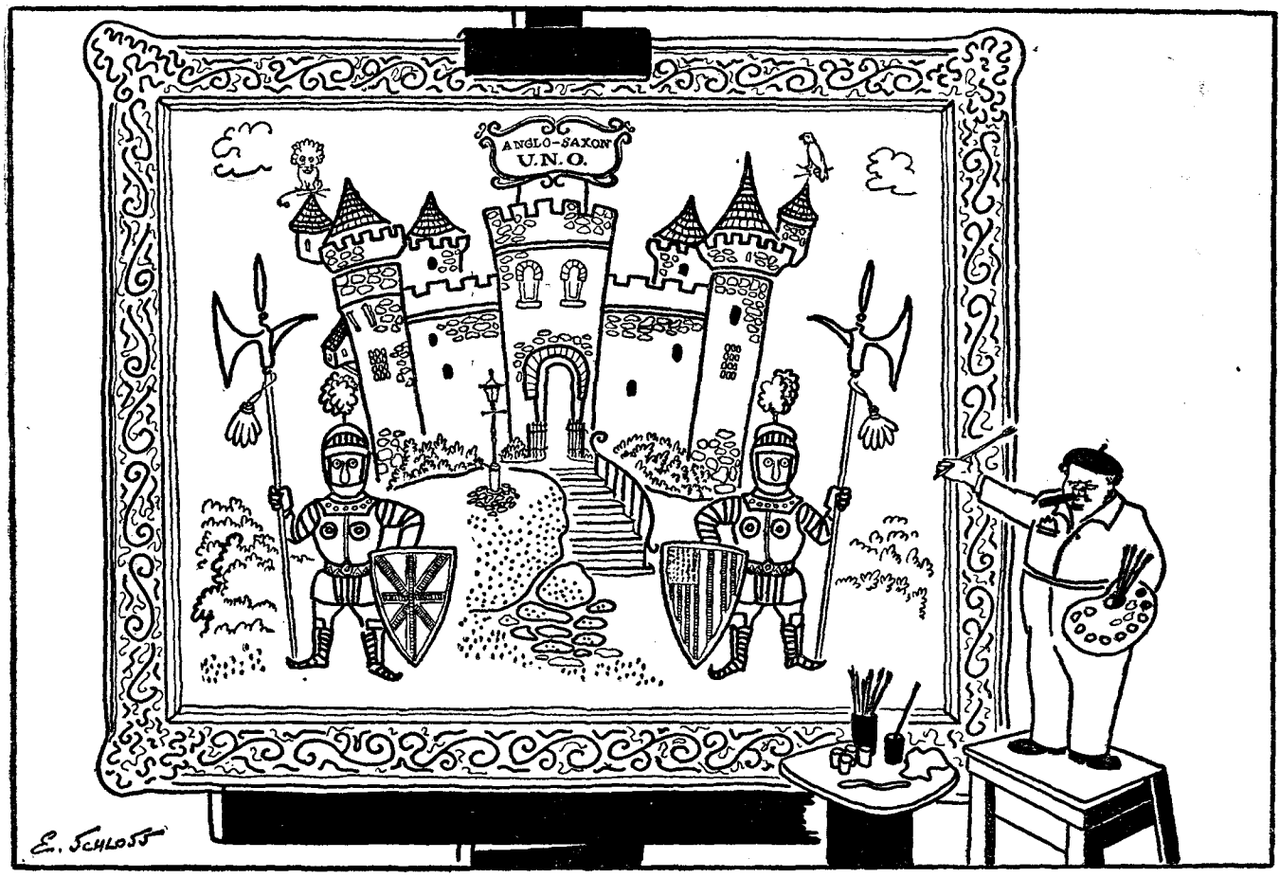

Drawn for the New Republic *by E. Schloss*

ica" and bases his argument on the atomic war to be fought between them. It was for good reason that Winston Churchill spoke in Fulton—he spoke to a great extent as an American.

If the UNO is to live, we must judge world developments in the light of its interests. In this light we deeply regret Soviet actions in Iran and Manchuria. In this light we completely disagree with Crossman's argument that in a UNO world, the highest objective of Britain and Western Europe is neutrality.

In this light we oppose utterly the meaning of Churchill's speech.

At great length the speech develops the notion that democracy is a *strategic* concept. It comes perilously close to rejecting all faith in a common meeting ground. Winston Churchill asserts that "the United Nations Organization must immediately begin to be equipped with an international armed force." The effectiveness of this armed force will depend entirely on its strength *relative* to national armed forces. Yet Mr. Churchill calls not for disarmament, but merely for the merging of Anglo-American weapons, bases and training facilities. The UNO, which is strong enough to direct a powerful armed force, "is still in its infancy," according to Mr. Churchill, and cannot control the atomic bomb. Yet Britain and America are both committed to disarmament in weapons of mass destruction and to UNO control of atomic energy.

"In my father's house are many mansions." Mr. Churchill's quotation might be a great reassertion of Franklin Roosevelt's vision if the house is to be strong, and the mansions contained within it. In Mr. Churchill's world the house is a façade, the mansions steel fortresses barred against a world in which, beneath the superficialities of UNO debating chambers, the old laws of greed and aggression reassert themselves and the British Empire remains the one stable force, unable any longer to maintain itself without American guarantees.

Limits must be set to expansion, and peaceful change must take place through the UNO. The poverty and hunger that is the root of our troubles must give way to reconstruction through the UNO and on a far greater scale than we have yet offered. There must be room within the UNO for independence movements within the empires, and America should not encourage Britain to resist them. We must "support and expand the Charter," as President Truman said so well. "My father's house" is no more than scaffolding today, and the storm is rising.

Unity Against Franco

The tri-partite declaration on Spain is the latest in a long list of unkind words (coupled with lack of positive action) about the surviving fascist dictatorship in Europe. At San Francisco, London, Potsdam and Washington, Truman, Attlee and Stalin have said separately and in concert that they don't like Franco, his government and his methods. It is time to act.

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In the power politics of 1946, Spain no longer matters very much. No one fears an invasion by Franco's tattered legions; no one envisages the spread of the doctrines of Spanish fascism anywhere in the world. But as a possible field of conflict between Russia and the West, Spain and the policies of the United Nations toward Spain are of the greatest importance.

The State Department now recognizes that Franco's government was closely linked with Hitler and the Nazis. The State Department says America will recognize a group of "liberal and patriotic-minded Spaniards" as a caretaker government if and when the Fascists go. The only news in such statements is that the State Department is finally becoming aware of American public opinion. The battered old alarm clock went off at last—years late.

But by listening to Mr. Bevin's fears about possible Spanish communism; by playing along with French Foreign Minister Bidault, who is obviously talking tough for the benefit of the Leftists in his government while hoping that all will remain quiet along the Pyrenees; and by excluding Russia by keeping the issue away from the UNO Security Council, Mr. Byrnes and the State Department's adviser, Mr. Ben Cohen, are leading American foreign policy along the paths of ineffectiveness, indecision and banality.

By following such a policy, Spain will inevitably become an issue widening the gap between Russia and the West. The most important question facing the peoples of the United Nations is how to close this gap in an atmosphere of friendliness and coöperation. The method of dealing with Franco must include Russia, and should be dealt with by the UNO Security Council. Otherwise our present State Department policy of well meant confusion and drift will find Spain in the toils of another interventionist civil war.

Wheat for the Starving

We hope no one will underrate the importance of the government's voluntary food-saving program announced last week in Washington; it is estimated that the saving of simply one slice of bread per household per week would amount to a million loaves over the next six months. It would be surprising if everyone were not willing to exercise the restraint asked for in this minimum program. At the same time, we hope everyone will remember that the program is a minimum, and follows a series of poor performances in the past. Although our wheat crop was well above prewar levels, we failed in January and February, and are likely to fail in March, to meet our overseas commitments of one million tons a month. The Department of Agriculture, though it is speaking urgently now, has a long record of procrastination and apathy behind it: it refused to use the set-aside powers granted by the President in September; it waited until UNRRA's cash, delayed by congressional inertia, was exactly on hand before starting to fill the vital food orders; and, most important, it stopped rationing last fall because the fear of possible surpluses here seemed more important than the prospect of certain starvation abroad.

We cannot undo the suffering already caused by these blunders. But we can at least cut down on the quantity of wheat fed to livestock, which was far above normal last year. That is the single most important step to be taken now, and no amount of talk or voluntary rationing will substitute for it. The Office of Defense Transportation should also see that this program immediately gets the rail priority it needs. In today's vocabulary of emergency feeding, delay is synonymous with death.

Governor Gerry Rides Again

Governor Gerry was a piker. The Massachusetts politician, whose manipulation of election districts in 1812 gave a new word to the language, was concerned with only one state. A measure just approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee would gerrymander the whole nation. Under its terms, states with sizable alien populations would have their congressional delegations cut by a change in the Fourteenth Amendment. If aliens are subtracted from the total population for the purposes of congressional apportionment, between 15 and 20 members of Congress from the industrial areas of the country will be redistricted out of Congress and their places taken by members from less urban areas.

Rarely has a measure of such far-reaching importance been approved by a Senate committee after as scanty consideration as this one received. A single day's public hearings were held on the amendment, less than one hour of testimony was taken, and only two members of the Judiciary Committee—Senators Hatch and Moore—were present. Five witnesses were heard —all of them in favor of the amendment. Approval by the committee sends the amendment a long way toward enactment. Similar legislation has twice been approved by the House Judiciary Committee, but never before in the Senate. A companion resolution, introduced in the present Congress by Representative Tarver of Georgia, is now pending in the House Judiciary Committee.

Passage of the amendment would still further increase the disproportionate representation in Congress of the small poll-tax electorates of the Southern states. The present wholesale disfranchisement of poor whites and Negroes is such that one vote in a poll-tax state is equal to from 10 to 40 votes in an industrial Northern congressional district. This ratio would be greatly increased by the exclusion of the nation's five million aliens from the count in the apportionment of representation.

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Keep Atomic Energy Free!

The issue in the battle for control of atomic energy is simply stated. Shall we make this creation of scientific genius the servant of armed forces, thus challenging every other nation to match force with force? Or shall we develop it for peace, and challenge every other nation to join with us in that purpose, step for step?

If we want peace, we have no better way of telling the world of our wishes than by entrusting the development of atomic energy to a civilian commission of the federal government, responsible to the people as every other administrative body is responsible. If we want war—or if we do not want it—we can find no more certain way to bring war upon us than by turning over future atomic research to the military.

We have heard it argued that, since the atomic project has not produced anything of peacetime benefit, it ought to be kept under military control. One might as well argue that the steel industry should be run by the Navy because it produces ships and guns, or that the aluminum plants should be run by the Army because they produce material for planes. Turning over atomic bombs to the military is one thing; but turning over all the great scientific and industrial organization that has produced the bomb is quite another matter. . . .

The May-Johnson bill, written in the War Department and foisted upon a confused Congress last fall, was exposed and discredited. A renewed effort is now under way to bring it before the House of Representatives—a move which is well timed to take advantage of the spy hysteria agitating the country.

In this bill, the Congress is asked to allow officers of the armed services to sit on a governing commission over the whole atomic-energy development, and to serve as Administrator and Deputy-Administrator. Members of the commission could be removed only with difficulty, and not for reasons of public policy. In practice, much of their authority undoubtedly would be exercised by the Administrator personally. The Administrator could not be removed even by the President.

Surely the military has a concern in atomic energy. Surely, also, it has a right to share in the practical administration of work that has to do with the development of weapons of war. *But it is unthinkable that the military should determine public policy in a democratic nation.*

Every technological advance made in the world has directly affected the way men live. The release of atomic energy will have more revolutionary effects upon our economic, political and social life than the discovery of fire, steam and electricity. The policy which will govern the uses of this cosmic force in our society should be determined by the people themselves through their elected representatives.

The business of the military profession is destruction. Its members are trained and disciplined in the use of naked force. They have to win wars, not prevent them. The role of the military in a free nation is admittedly a thankless one—it must serve as a last resort, to defend the nation only when all other means have failed. Yet the preservation of a free people's liberties requires that the armed forces be kept as an instrument, not maker, of policy.

The men who laid the firm foundations on which we have built this nation knew well the dangers of military rule. They wrote into the Constitution that no member of the armed forces might hold elective office; and the same rule has long been traditional in regard to appointive offices as well. . . .

There is no such thing as a partly militaristic state. Every nation that has made the mistake of admitting the military to a share in government has learned that to its cost. Force begets force. Power demands more power. Those whose business it is to make war must be expected to resolve problems of state in terms of war. A show of force finds its reflection as surely as in a mirror, and those who began by counseling force must soon demand more authority to cope with the threat they have raised up abroad.

The McMahon bill in the Senate (S 1717) and its companion measure which Representative Holifield of California and I have introduced in the House (HR 5364) provide for administration of the future development of atomic energy in the American tradition—through civil government by civilian authority responsible to the will of the people.

These measures would place policy responsibility in the hands of a full-time commission of five men, who would be appointed by the President and might be removed by him, like other administrative officers. They would provide for non-monopolistic development of atomic energy. They would provide maximum freedom of research consistent with national policy. It should never be forgotten that the atomic project was pioneered by the scientists in the face of opposition by the military, and finally turned over to the Army only after it was ready for large-scale development.

We may not be able, alone, to ensure a lasting peace. But we can, single-handed, make certain of war, if by our actions now we give notice to the rest of the world that we are putting our trust in force. If we permit the military to determine our policy on atomic energy, we serve notice in unmistakable terms that we believe this new power is a better sword than plow, and that we intend to live by the sword.

Both President Truman and Secretary of War Patterson have endorsed the McMahon bill's provisions for civilian control. Surely the good sense of the American people, mindful of the bitter fruits of militarism in other nations, can do no less.—*Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas of California.*

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Houses—Not Lobbies

THE NATION faces the most serious housing crisis in its history. It needs at least three million homes for veterans at once, and 12 million in the next ten years. Not only are 18 million people living doubled up, but the whole country has been practically immobilized by lack of dwellings. Workers are marooned in war-production areas, unable to migrate to where their skills are most needed. Overcrowding in apartments is common everywhere. Families dispossessed by home-buyers are being forced to buy other homes as the only means of getting a roof over their heads, spiraling home prices to the point where the dikes erected against inflation may be unable to hold. An ugly black market in building materials and renting flourishes with no hope of enough home production to check it.

The administration has put housing at the top of the list of "must" legislation. In choosing Wilson W. Wyatt for the housing job, it has given the program one of its top-flight administrators. The urgency of the need is nationally recognized. Yet the housing program is being scuttled, Wyatt's proposals mauled and battered on the floor of Congress, until his program is no longer workable. The effort to check an inflation in prices of materials through premium payments has been smothered. Price ceilings on the sale of existing homes seem foredoomed to defeat. Unless the public is awakened in time, a similar fate may befall the low-rent-housing provisions of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill.

A vicious lobby has worked so effectively in Washington that congressmen have been unable to distinguish between the people's voice and the lobby's. This lobby is not the type that seeks to limit federal operations. Its aim is to enlarge the federal interest in housing further than starry-eyed reformers ever dreamed. It wants the federal agencies that lend credit to private groups expanded and the federal agencies that confer the subsidies to the cities abolished. Its purpose is to remove the risk from private enterprise, underwrite its profits and socialize its losses. In this it has assumed a unique role in the drama of American pressure politics.

Up to 1934 the builder had to stake capital of his own in the building of small homes. In an effort to stimulate home building, the National Housing Act and the FHA system which it set up allowed him to build without requiring him to stake any fixed investment of his own. The government made available all the money he needed by insuring a mortgage for more than his land and building cost. The system expanded until it now insures more than $4 billion of mortgages. The National Association of Home Builders joined the National Association of Real Estate Boards to promote further authorizations and establish the FHA as a permanent part of government policy. A Washington office was set up with all the trimmings of a big-league lobby. It has been skillful in congressional cloakrooms and has carried on a campaign designed to convince Congress that it speaks for real estate and home owners generally and has nationwide support.

The National Housing Act was also a windfall to specially privileged lending institutions whose mortgages the government now insured. Though uninsured mortgage money is being openly offered at 4 percent, the home owner is made to pay a fixed 4.5-percent rate and an insurance premium of one-half of one percent to boot, a charge almost twice the going federal rate. It represents an annual tribute to lenders of at least $40 million in excess interest. Inter-group pressure has snuffed out all efforts to cut interest rates. Practices which in other enterprises would be a shameless violation of the anti-trust laws, are openly protected by congressional and administrative sanction. It is easy, therefore, to understand the opposition by the American Bankers' Association to the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, which seeks to reduce the interest rate on insured home mortgages. This group also attacks public housing because local housing authorities have been able to finance their building operations through underwriting houses by competitive bidding—a practice which has reduced the interest rate to as little as 1.6 percent.

The third group opposing the government's program is the building and loan lobby. Half-starved and collapsing under the weight of the depression, the government, through a Home Loan Bank System, undertook to insure the deposits of shareholders, purchase stock of the associations and rediscount their frozen mortgage paper. Government aid enabled them to more than double their resources. Beneficiaries of the FHA system also, these associations have long been identified with the argument that competition, common in all other enterprises, is against the public welfare in mortgage financing.

These three groups have not only combined in their attack on the Wyatt program, but have now gained the support of the materials-producers' lobby which sees the defeat of Wyatt's program of premium payments for materials production as a signal for breaking OPA ceilings. Wyatt is charged with favoring the local housing authorities. The Federal Public Housing Authority, which makes loans to cities for slum clearance, is smeared as a socialistic agency.

The congressional debates disclose that the home-owners' and veterans' welfare has become a pious pretext for legislation which victimizes more often than it benefits. The slum dweller has fallen prey to a lobby unique in American political annals, a lobby that must be stopped if a constructive housing program is to emerge. Private enterprise in housing that entails

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no stake or risk is neither private nor enterprise—it is a dignified anachronism. It is time Congress realized that it is more important to build houses than to feather nests.

National Health Insurance

As PUBLIC HEARINGS on the Wagner-Murray-Dingell national-health bill are about to begin before the Senate Education and Labor Committee, it is apparent that Congress will soon be making a number of basic decisions on the nation's health.

First, there is the question of whether to rely on voluntary prepayment plans or to set up a nationwide system of government health insurance. A few years ago the high priests of the American Medical Association fought tooth and nail against all voluntary prepayment plans. Today, under public pressure for improved medical care, they have changed their tune.

The fly in the AMA ointment is the fact that despite many years of advertising, voluntary plans for medical and hospital care now cover only about three and a half million people—mostly in the upper income groups. The chances of extension to lower and middle income groups in urban areas or to the bulk of our farmers are virtually nil. Lacking a mass base, therefore, such plans tend to result in limitations upon the types of available care and a proliferation of special fees and special conditions.

The AMA will try to blur these basic facts with a barrage of publicity. A new AMA offshoot, known as Associated Medical Care Plans, Inc., has already been set up to propagandize the country. Its most valuable trick will be to offer a low-cost form of insurance covering "catastrophic illness." This will be presented as an alternative to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell plan for insurance covering hospital care, physicians' services, laboratory fees, medicines, appliances, dental and home-nursing care. It is as though one were asked to buy tornado insurance as an alternative for life insurance.

Second, there is the question of whether government health insurance should be run on a national basis or be handed over lock, stock and barrel to 48 state governments and 48 state medical societies.

The AMA leaders appreciate the value of the old maxim, "If you can't beat 'em, jine 'em." They are prepared to jump on the bandwagon of government health insurance and seize the reins. Their tactic will be to demand that the federal government merely collect insurance payments and then parcel out the funds to the states—as is now done with unemployment compensation. In the states, they will then try to have the administration of the system turned over completely to their local medical societies. If they succeed, the result will be higher costs, restrictions on services and insufferable barriers to the nationwide planning so essential to make government health insurance work.

A preview of what could take place on the bill can be found in the recent experience with the Hill-Burton hospital bill. The AMA and the American Hospital Association, after many years of opposition to federal aid for hospitals, gave this measure their warm support on the condition that administration be in the hands of a council representing doctors and hospitals. Despite the protests of Senators Murray and Wagner, the bill passed the Senate in this form and is now before the House. If the House fails to put administrative responsibility back in the hands of responsible federal officials, only a presidential veto will prevent a precedent that would be disastrous for the health-insurance program.

Third, there is the question of whether the Veterans' Administration is to provide the best possible care for disabled veterans or to aim at offering complete health care for all veterans. If the bill were already law, the veteran and his family could get complete care from doctors and hospitals of their own choice. The VA's job would then be to provide the special facilities needed to cope with the serious problems of physical and mental health resulting from wartime service.

In the absence of national health insurance, however, the Veterans' Administration is moving in the direction of providing comprehensive care. Over the short run, this means such a tremendous work load that it will be unable to do a good enough job for those veterans who need the most attention. In the long run, this means that the VA will move in the antisocial direction of drawing a line between veterans and civilians and providing exclusively for the former what should be available generally for the entire population. These dangers cannot be averted merely through action by General Bradley and the Veterans' Administration. The only answer is congressional approval of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Let's Modernize Congress

by Richard Lee Strout

THE INEFFICIENCY of Congress is a national scandal. Congress has been slipping for years. Increasingly it is held up to ridicule. It is losing power to the Executive simply because it won't put its own two houses in order. Now a joint, bi-partisan congressional committee, after a year's study, proposes an elaborate scheme of modernization, the first since 1893. It reports the plan unanimously, with some minor exceptions in footnotes. The plan could go much further than it does. But as it stands, it would constitute a tremendous reform.

It is easy to show the antiquated nature of congressional procedure. Congress is overworked and understaffed. For example, the House has 435 members, yet it employs only five attorneys to help them draft and prepare legislation. It is so niggardly that the cost of running Congress is half the cost of the Indian Bureau in the executive branch. It creates committees but won't kill them; the Senate set up a Committee on Interoceanic Canals around the turn of the century, but although the Panama Canal is finished and the Spanish-American War (by all accounts) over, the committee still functions, with a staff of four clerks drawing $10,500 a year.

Committees overlap. The House has three duplicating Committees on Pensions. It also has a Flood Control Committee as well as a Rivers and Harbors Committee. There are so many Senate committees and so few Senators that many members serve on from six to ten. Senator Maloney at the start of the present hearings complained that he was overworked, with 23 agencies to attend to. Seven weeks later he died of a heart attack.

It takes 45 minutes to call the House roll. The equivalent of 42 legislative days was spent in the last Congress just in roll-calls. An electric recording device would reduce this to a matter of minutes. Donald Nelson, while chairman of the War Production Board, estimated that he spent one-third of his time giving testimony to duplicating committees.

Today congressmen have bigger problems to meet than ever before, yet they must still spend most of their time on petty drudgery for constituents instead of thinking nationally; they must still deal with private claims; they must still run the District of Columbia, a city of 900,000, instead of letting it govern itself.

These anomalies are shocking and incredible. When the Washington correspondent has lived with them for almost a quarter of a century, as I have, and seen their effect in hamstringing action, neutralizing progress, creating chronic stalemates with the Executive and opening the way to pressure-group control, he comes finally to gnawing, tragic doubts as to whether American democracy can really meet the tests of the times we live in.

There are much deeper problems than the ones I mention, reforms so fundamental that it is doubtful whether Congress will accept the report of its own committee, although it has been baited with tidbits for the individual congressman. His salary would be increased from $10,000 to $15,000; he would be given an $8,000-a-year "assistant congressman" to handle the drudgery of non-legislative duties; expert staff and clerical help would be vastly increased; there would be longer, regular recesses; the amount of committee work would be cut down and systematized; congressmen would be put under the federal retirement system; a great amount of detail and worry would be lifted from their shoulders; they would sleep better and live longer. But unless there is a tremendous drive from the public, congressmen may take the increased privileges and refuse additional obligations. Senator La Follette wants to wrap the program into one package, believing there is a better chance to get through the basic reforms if they are tied to personal benefits. It is doubtful that Congress will allow this procedure; it is likely to prefer to take the matter up piecemeal.

CONGRESS has deep, vested interests in its own inefficiency. Each committee chairman is a little czar. The La Follette-Monroney report would make a clean, swift cut in the number of committees, reducing 33 in the Senate to 16; 48 House committees to 18. This reduction is basic—the test of whether Congress will really try to reform itself or just pretend, for there will be tremendous opposition to reducing their number. Chairmanships are coveted. The chairman can largely control legislation; he gets special patronage, power and prestige. Chairmanships are distributed on the basis of seniority rather than ability; the seniority system is so ingrained that even the daring La Follette-Monroney group did not think it wise to endanger other proposals by recommending its elimination. Some chairmen have spent a lifetime waiting for their posts. Furthermore, all the older members have lined up for years waiting for the present chairmen to be defeated or die. Now it is proposed to abolish half the committees. How would the prospective heirs feel?

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A second center of opposition lies among lobbies and the executive bureaucracy. In Washington everybody has a friend "on a committee." The web of friendship has been spun for years. Some pressure group, for example, has finally landed Representative Jones on Flood Control; now it learns that this, and three other closely related committees, may be merged. Furthermore, it discovers that lobbyists may be registered and made to give financial accounts. Naturally it will fight the reform.

IN ADDITION to a number of institutional modernizations, the La Follette-Monroney program carries three proposals so fundamental that, if adopted, they would practically revolutionize the American legislative structure. First, and most obvious, is the one by which Congress would put its own fiscal house in order. Both chambers have committees dealing with raising money (taxes), both have committees dealing with spending money (appropriations), but they don't work together. Their wheels don't mesh. America is probably the only big country with no genuine budget. The new program would have Congress adopt a tentative budget, balancing expenditures and revenues, within 60 days of the opening of each session, and would then require embarrassing public-record votes from members—specifically authorizing the creation of additional public debt—if Congress decided to spend beyond its income. The proposal is intelligent and it is hard to see how any reasonable man could oppose it.

The second major proposal is more nebulous and possibly more important. It is deliberately designed to strengthen the party structure in America. Unless one has followed the literature of political scientists on this subject, including Thomas K. Finletter's *Can Representative Government Do the Job?* the significance of this, as well as the third proposal, may be missed.

Talburt in the Scripps-Howard Newspapers

Okay Liza—Le's Go!

Party responsibility is notoriously weak in America. Candidates pledge themselves to support legislation like the FEPC, and then Congress won't cash the check. The one great force in a democracy capable of resisting blocs, lobbies and selfish pressure groups is the party. The failure of party responsibility was never more evident than today, when the Democratic majority won't back the Democratic President's program.

Provisions of the new report would seek to strengthen party responsibility and accountability by creating formal, seven-man "policy committees" for majority and minority parties, in both Houses. Under the plan the seven Senators and seven Representatives of the Democratic Party, for instance, would meet jointly at frequent intervals to formulate over-all legislative policy. It is proposed that the decisions of these committees be formally announced. An individual member would not be required to follow such party policy, but the record of his action, in support of or in defiance of his party, would be available to the public as a means of holding both party and individual to account. This device is designed to replace the present steering committees which, the report rightly observes, "seldom meet, and never steer."

THE THIRD PROPOSAL is the most provocative and potentially important. Without mentioning its sources, it incorporates recent suggestions of political scientists for the creation of what has come to be called "a joint executive-legislative cabinet." This is an effort to bridge the dangerous and widening gulf between President and Congress which produces that chronic institutional antagonism that distinguishes American democracy from parliamentary governments. While the Founding Fathers deliberately set out to give America a weak executive, they hardly intended, as the report points out, to have the two branches "go separate ways, in opposite directions."

The report would meet this problem in two ways. I have already mentioned the proposed "policy committees" to be established by either party to strengthen party responsibility. The report proposes that the 14-man policy committee of the majority be formally recognized as a council, to meet regularly with the President and leaders of his executive departments. In other words, they would become the President's legislative cabinet. While keeping executive and legislative branches separate, the procedure might do wonders in improving teamwork. The report dubs the new body the Joint Legislative-Executive Council.

The second method of achieving teamwork is implied rather than directly stated. Analysis of the proposed new committee structure shows that each committee is planned to coincide with an opposite number

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in the other House, and with a major department in the executive branch. These committees might meet jointly, and it is recommended that the cabinet member having the subject in hand should appear regularly before his committee. Thus, while the report does not go into the controversial matter of giving cabinet members seats for questioning in Congress, it does, in effect, recommend that they have seats in their respective legislative committees.

There is an infinite possibility of good in this closer relationship, in breaking down the system that has kept the two great divisions of the American government at sword's-point almost since the Constitution was written.

The opportunities for reform in the great new report are incalculable. Whether it is adopted depends on the legislature. One thing is as true now as ever: Only Congress can reform Congress.

A Strategy for Britain

by R. H. S. Crossman, M. P.

The following analysis by R. H. S. Crossman, British Member of Parliament and member of the Palestine Commission, appears in more complete form in the January-March, 1946, issue of the London Political Quarterly. *It is presented by the* New Republic *as a highly controversial but important contribution to the question of the present and future role of Britain in world affairs.* – THE EDITORS

ONE OF THE MISFORTUNES and adventures of the Labor Party was that it took office at a moment when a complete reassessment of British foreign policy was due. The Second World War had at last, by the total elimination of Germany, destroyed the European balance of power. The forced emergence of Russia and the USA, each from its own type of continental isolation, had created a new world balance of power whose *foci* were not in Europe at all, but in Washington and Moscow. Moreover, the technical evolution of the weapons of total warfare had produced a world situation in which a war could only be contemplated with any hope of success by either the USA or the USSR.

These revolutionary changes demanded in the summer of 1945 a reëxamination both of British foreign policy and of the socialist analysis on which labor's foreign policy should be based. Britain ended the Second World War, as France ended the First—a victor, but a victor who could never afford to fight again.

The Second World War was the first real world war. It started as a European war, but as it developed, the latent tensions throughout the world were released and the Far Eastern struggle became, not a derivative of the European conflict, but a war of equal, if not greater, importance. Thus between 1939 and 1945, what had long been implicit in international relations became an explicit fact. The main center of world power had ceased to be exclusively European. The elimination of Germany as a European and world power left Europe, temporarily at least, as an object, not a subject, of world politics. In 1945, therefore, there is, strictly speaking, no European balance of power, because there are no European great powers. Instead, there is something very different—a jockeying for position in Europe by three great powers, none of them strictly European.

In 1945, Paris and Berlin have great European importance; but Moscow and Washington are now the two *foci* of world politics. If Britain's policy is to remain a balance-of-power policy, then the balance must be not a European balance but a world balance, and the aim to prevent domination not of Europe but of the world by a single power.

The position has been further complicated by the atomic bomb, or rather by technological developments dramatized in the destruction of Hiroshima. These developments have rendered a British balance-of-power policy out of date, by making the British Isles completely indefensible in any third world war. If either America or Russia were to begin an attempt at world domination, it would, of course, be possible for us to form a world alliance based on the other continental powers and the smaller states, and by this means to attempt to check the potential aggressor. But it would be futile for Great Britain to lead such an alliance, as she did against Napoleon, Wilhelm II and Hitler.

WESTERN BLOC

It is only against this background of world politics that we can discuss the relations of Great Britain and Western Europe. If, for instance, Mr. Bevin were to base his European policy on an attempt to prevent German domination of Europe and were to subordinate all other considerations to this prime motive, it would be completely misjudging the new situation. The question whether Germany can ever revive as a military power

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and once again attempt to dominate Europe is now a secondary question, as secondary as Italy's potentialities in the Mediterranean during the fascist era. For whatever happens, Germany by herself or relying only on European assistance, can never again threaten the peace of the world. She only did so in 1939 because Hitler made a gross miscalculation. By localizing aggression in his policy of "one by one" and by planning a quick European war, he hoped to produce a *fait accompli* before either Russia or America was ready to resist him. How hopelessly he had miscalculated is shown by the fact that he was not ready in 1940, after the French collapse, to invade England and so finish the war in the West. But unless he did that, he was doomed to inevitable defeat.

But if this was so in 1939, it is infinitely truer in 1945. From now on, any European state, including Germany, though she can in the future be an occasion of war among the great powers, can never herself be a prime cause of war. Solution of the German problem is important, not because the revival of German militarism can in itself threaten world peace, but because the three great powers still think that it could.

In fact, the power politics of Potsdam are wrong, not because they are power politics but because they are based on a false estimate of German power. Ever since the German collapse the policy of Britain, Russia and America has been predominantly designed to remove the threat of German aggression, at a time when that threat has ceased to have world significance. Unless and until the USSR threatens the USA, or the USA threatens the USSR and one of the two connives at German rearmament in order to embarrass the other, there is no chance whatsoever for a revival of German militarism on a world scale. Thus the German problem is primarily one of confidence. The Russians fear that German scientific skill and industrial and military organization might one day be mobilized in a new anti-Bolshevik crusade. This fear dominates their policy toward Germany. There are those in Britain (and America) who wish to base our policy on a similar assumption that the Russians might one day mobilize Germany in a war against us. There is some rational excuse for a Russian policy based on this lack of confidence. Assuming that the American fears of Russia were justified, a policy designed to turn Western Europe, including Great Britain and Germany, into an advanced American base makes some strategical sense.

The one country for whom such a policy to Germany makes no sense at all is Great Britain, unless we are prepared to transfer the capital of the Empire to Canada or South Africa and to disperse three-quarters of our population to the dominions and colonies overseas. Once we have stated these conditions, we realize how futile the policy is. Western bloc or no Western bloc, Great Britain is indefensible in an atomic war between America and Russia which is fought in Europe. Strategically, we are now merely a part of the European no-man's land between two continental blocs. As such we are physically incapable, whatever our relation to Western Europe, of maintaining a successful balance-of-power policy in an atomic world.

Any truly national foreign policy for Britain, therefore, must eschew all strategic considerations in considering the European settlement and seek to found that settlement exclusively on the needs of the people. Since the defense of Great Britain, in the event of an American-Russian war conducted in Europe, would be impossible, our policy should be to resist equally either American or Russian pressure to shape Europe according to strategic needs. We should oppose both a strategic Eastern and a strategic Western bloc; and we should be concerned to neutralize Europe altogether in the event of a Russo-American conflict. This is a strictly military argument in support of a foreign policy for this country which is genuinely independent *vis à vis* America and Russia and refuses to side with one against the other.

United States of Europe

It is easy at this stage to jump to the conclusion that, since a Western-bloc policy would be a fatal mistake for this country, Great Britain should work for a pan-European settlement or even for a federal union of the European states. But to reject the Western bloc does not necessitate the acceptance of the United States of Europe. The Western and Eastern blocs are really strategic conceptions; or rather they are plans for a political European settlement based on the assumption of the likelihood of a third world war. We have argued, so far, merely that Great Britain should not base her foreign policy on such strategic assumptions and should avoid for that reason both the pastoralization of Germany and the formation of a Western bloc. But it by no means follows that we should seek to promote European unity.

From a racial and cultural point of view the Slav states of Central and Southeastern Europe have far more kinship with Russia than with either Spain or Norway. And this cultural kinship has been reinforced during the war, first by the fact that liberation was achieved from the East, and second, by the recognition that the pro-Western groups, which dominated this part of Europe between the wars, had for the most part become ardent supporters of Hitler's New European Order. The revolution, therefore, which accompanied the liberation was Eastern in orientation; and, despite the revulsion caused by the excesses of the Red Army, Eastern Europe, quite apart from the pressure of Russian power politics, developed intimate relationships with the USRR which are quite incompatible with the concept of a United States of Europe.

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When we turn to the West, we find a not dissimilar situation. Belgium, for instance, is far closer to Britain than Bulgaria; and a unification of Europe which brought these two small countries into one federation and simultaneously weakened their contact with their extra-European neighbors would do no service either to them or to Europe. Despite frequent assertions to the contrary, Europe is not a geographical, cultural, economic or strategic unity. True, up until 1939 it was a center from which conflict spread all over the whole world. Now it has lost its central importance. It has retained the conflict. Indeed, it could only be united by force of arms; and any great power which attempted in the future to do so would finally come into conflict with the other great powers. To attempt to build a United States of Europe is merely another way of preparing for a third world war.

IN BRIEF, the whole idea of the United States of Europe belongs to a vanished age. The only states today which are genuinely European, in the sense that they look both East and West, are Austria, Czechoslovakia and, to a lesser extent, Poland and Germany. Every other state is oriented either to the East or to the West. If the peoples of Europe were left to themselves without any interference from the great powers, they would form themselves naturally into a Western group, associated with Britain, and an Eastern group, associated with the USSR. The great powers would be well advised to accept this natural grouping as the basis for the peace settlement.

The only exception to this general principle is, of course, Germany. Germany became a great power and then a threat to world peace precisely because she was big enough to play off the East against the West. To the West she painted herself as a protector of Christian civilization, first against the czarist despotism and then against Bolshevism. But to the East she has frequently told a very different tale. One need only recall that the Reichswehr, which was to develop into the Wehrmacht, was largely trained in Russia. It is the tragedy of Germany that she is neither Western nor Eastern, and that for this reason she failed to create a United Europe under her domination.

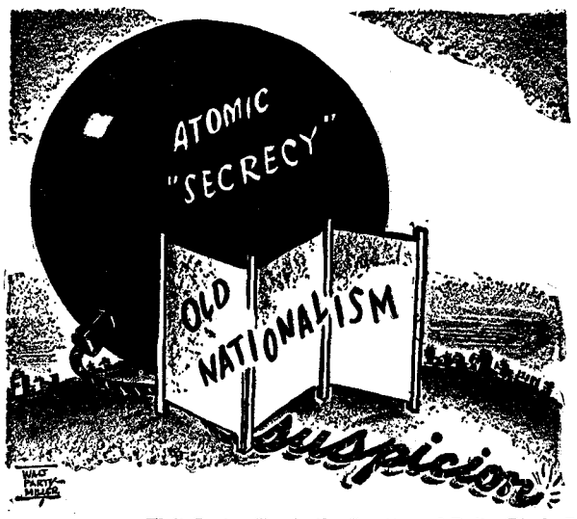
Does this mean that Britain should work for a dismemberment of Germany into a Western and an Eastern state or series of states? The answer is partly yes and partly no. There are powerful reasons for admitting that the French have a case for claiming a frontier on the Rhine correlative to the Polish frontier on the Neisse. There are equally powerful reasons for working out a plan for the international control of the Ruhr and of the German North Sea force. But within these new and limited frontiers there must arise a Germany which is neither Western nor Eastern and which, for this reason, must for many years be submitted to quadri-partite control. That control will become unnecessary when the suspicion of the great powers has been allayed and mutual confidence been restored. For, as we previously argued, it is not Germany herself which is a menace to world peace, but the fears of each of the great powers about the possible use of Germany by the others.

WESTERN UNION

If we dismiss the concept of the Western bloc and equally the concept of the United States of Europe, we are left with the unprecise but far more fruitful concept of Western union. As Mr. Bevin has so cogently argued, the reconstruction of Western Europe is a matter of life and death for this country. We have old friendships there which have been proved in the trials of war. We have markets there without which we become the economic bondslave of the USA. And, above all, we have a common interest with our neighbors in Western Europe in relation to the prospects of a third world war. We, like them, know already that we cannot permit ourselves to be dragged into an atomic war.

But, it may be asked, what exactly is the difference between a Western union and a Western bloc? There is a precise answer to this question. A Western bloc is a strategic conception, which relies for its efficacy in the last resort on American armed might. The Western union excludes by definition American participation; and, if it is to gain both Russian and American confidence, its members must make it clear from the outset that they would be neutral in any third world war, whatever the cost to their prestige.

In the second place, a Western union, since its members recognize the futility of participation by them in a world war, has as its primary object the raising of the standard of living within the union by mutual cooperation and by joint economic policy toward those outside the union. Here the difference is to be found, not in pronouncements, but in action. Were Britain



Walt Partymiller in the Gazette and Daily *(York, Pa.)*

Too Big to Hide

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and France to promote such a union, the first Russian reaction would undoubtedly be hostile; but in time the Russians would learn what the union's intentions really were. The Russians, above all, judge their fellow men not by what they say but by what they do. Thus judged, a Western union would be acceptable to Russia precisely because it rendered impossible an Anglo-Saxon bloc. It would be accepted by, if not acceptable to, the USA because in the long run only such a union is able to provide the export market which American capitalists demand.

WHAT would be the relationship between such a Western union and the existing United Nations Organization? There is room within the present constitution of the United Nations for a regional grouping. All that would happen would be that certain nations of Western Europe would, on certain issues, be likely to speak with a single voice, and thus be able to counterbalance the block vote of the New World republics. Here again there can be no question of a caucus, but merely of a common regional policy shared by a group of nations whose interests on many points are distinct from those of either of the great continental powers. Moreover, as Mr. Bevin seemed to indicate in his statements on the world state, we shall be looking beyond the UNO to a new type of world organization.

Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that when Mr. Bevin expressed his readiness to sit down and work out with the statesmen of any other country the federal constitution of a world state, he was thinking in the first instance of a limited Western union along the lines outlined above. Mr. Bevin has his feet firmly planted on the ground even when he is building castles in the air. He knows better than anyone the really appalling conflicts of policy which divide Russia and America and make any durable settlement of the Far East impossible for the time being. He realizes that, viewed from London, Washington or Moscow, the Big Three disagreements about Europe are relatively trifling compared with their disagreements elsewhere. When he made his historic declaration of British policy, he must have realized that the chances are remote in the extreme of either Russia or America merging their solvency in any world state. Indeed, he made it clear enough that, for the moment, world politics must be regulated through the UNO, and he probably expects that the process of breaking down mutual suspicions and dovetailing into each other the imperialist aspirations of the USA and the USSR will take many years. Granted this, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Bevin is eager to try the experiment of federal union on a limited scale. For this experiment the nations of Western Europe, including the British dominions and the colonial possessions overseas, are ideally suited. For the first time in history this group of people is united by a common philosophy—that of social democracy—and this is the only basis on which such a federalization of independent states can be made to work.

Sabotaging Chinese Unity

by Richard Watts Jr.

PARADOXICALLY, the strenuous attempt being made both in this country and the Far East to sabotage the peace agreement in China is the best indication that the preliminary settlement worked out under the wise guidance of General Marshall holds considerable promise of success. The signing of the pact to coördinate Kuomintang and Communist troops in a truly national army and the apparent stop put to the threat of a new outbreak of civil war in Manchuria indicate an honest attempt to achieve a unified coalition government. The obvious and growing worry of the reactionary elements within the Generalissimo's party is particularly encouraging.

Considering the constant claim by their enemies that the Chinese Communists are the tools of Moscow, it is also ironic to note that it is the Russians who are currently supplying aid and comfort to these diehards and the chief handicap to the hopes of their presumable friends. There can be no doubt that there is strong feeling among the Chinese against the continued presence in Manchuria of Soviet troops and the reported additional Russian demands for economic privileges in the northeastern provinces. It is equally obvious, though, that the Kuomintang reactionaries, knowing that in a progressive coalition government their hitherto dominant position would be doomed, have been using this patriotic Chinese feeling for their own purposes. Certainly, the mass demonstration of some ten thousand university and middle-school students, who wrecked the offices and seriously injured five staff members of the Communist daily, *Hsin Hua Jih Pao*, in Chungking in February seemed patently organized and led by these diehards. So much so that Tillman Durdin, the experienced and objective New York *Times* correspondent, reported that "the promoters of

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the demonstration, prominent among whom were Kuomintang youth organizations, aimed as much at attempting to turn popular sentiment against the Chinese Communists as anything else. The Manchurian issue is being used as a weapon with which to attack the Communists and gain support for the opposition of right-wingers to domestic unity through agreements with the Communists."

THE EVIDENCE is that the right-wing troublemakers, alarmed by the strength of the various student demonstrations on behalf of peace and coalition, have been making a determined effort to discredit such activities and organize some very dubious demonstrations of their own. In fact, the *China Weekly Review*, the American-owned Shanghai journal published by J. B. Powell, openly accuses George Wang, a United Press correspondent, of giving his support to "the forces of reaction which are trying to discredit local student activities and bring into disrepute Shanghai's increasingly active student body." In its issue of January 26, it reports a memorial service for the students killed by the troops in Kunming, held by a large group of Shanghai students, and calls it "an honest student parade . . . conducted in an orderly and calm manner." It adds that on the following day—Monday—there was a demonstration by middle-school students in front of the French Consulate, for which handbills printed in Chinese and English were prepared ten days ahead, and that teachers in the various schools were given instructions to have their pupils participate in the demonstrations. The *Review* continues:

> . . . This week various political and private groups in Shanghai have been working overtime to sell the public a version of the two affairs which is exactly the opposite of the truth. Sunday's parade is claimed to have been "phony," having been organized by "agents of a certain anti-government political party," while the second is described as an example of righteous indignation expressed by Shanghai students. Wang, who claims to have had a "round-table conference" with leaders of student bodies in thirteen of Shanghai's schools, says that Sunday's parade was made up mostly of workers, that coolies were employed to chalk up slogans on sidewalks and buildings. We don't know whether or not Wang saw Sunday's parade, but we did. We saw thousands of young boys and girls—many wearing school uniforms—carrying the usual crudely made banners. We also saw Monday's parade, where the hundreds of gleeful primary students had a holiday passing out neat handbills on expensive paper. . . . We wonder if his [Wang's] "round-table" group told him about the meeting which preceded the Sunday parade; a meeting at which several prominent Shanghai teachers spoke. We are surprised they were not described as Communist labor leaders disguised as venerable professors!

With Tu Yueh-sen, the notorious gang leader, the Al Capone of China, back as one of the big Kuomintang political bosses of Shanghai, the use of managed popular demonstrations and the smearing of rival mass meetings are the mildest sort of tactics that could be expected, since it is hardly to be anticipated that the violent Tu would look forward with passivity to a coalition whch included progressive forces. Even less willing to accept a democratic government are such unpleasant figures as Tai Li, China's Himmler, the sinister secret-police chief, and the Chen brothers, notorious reactionaries and head of their own group of secret police. These reactionary gangster elements, with their concentration camps and terrorism, are not satisfied merely to traduce honest student movements and to transform a rising but artificially induced national feeling against alleged Russian schemes in Manchuria into mob violence against their fellow countrymen, in order to save their own political skins by plunging China once more into civil war. There is also every indication that they are using what may be the last period of their unbridled power to kill off as many Chinese liberals as possible.

This is a grave charge, but there is tragic evidence to back it up. In January, Yang Chao, a young Chinese liberal newspaperman, brother of Yang Kang, a brilliant woman journalist now in the United States as correspondent of the leading paper of China, *Ta Kung Pao*, died in Hangchow of illness contracted while a political prisoner. His friends had never been permitted to see copies of any charges against him and he was never brought to trial, but officials said that he had "wrong thoughts" on the subject of communism and the Chinese New Fourth Army and that therefore his release would have to be delayed. Although he had complained of illness and fever a week earlier, he was not sent to the hospital until he was unable to speak or see, and it was reported that he died of "acute malaria." When the Generalissimo prom-

Thomas in the Detroit News

The Man of Many Burdens

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ised to release political prisoners, Yang's friends interceded on his behalf and his death followed quickly. It is chiefly because Yang Chao, as a valued OWI employee, had many American friends that his case attracted particular attention. The latest news is that his wife has been placed in "protective custody" for two years.

While it is clear that the Generalissimo is at least taking his time about his promise to release politcal prisoners, there is a disposition among observers to give him the benefit of the doubt and to acquit him of any determination to assist the recalcitrant right-wing party leaders behind the scenes. In fact, Mr. Durdin, whose dispatches to the *Times* have grown increasingly frank in charging the reactionary groups with propaganda and gang tactics in their efforts to disrupt the peace and with holding a recent meeting in Chungking to formulate a program to fight the Marshall accord, says that their tactics constitute a serious threat to President Chiang's leadership and that Chiang is making a genuine effort to "sell" the agreement to his more stubborn followers. There is also reason to believe that the so-called Political Science group within the Kuomintang, led by Governor Chang Chun of Szechuan, one of the able negotiators of the peace, is making a strong fight for unity. It all remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, the attempts to sabotage peace and unity in China also continue in the United States. Two of the most violent efforts come from the New York *World-Telegram* and the New York *Journal-American*. The former has been relying particularly on a gentleman named Parker La Moore, who was brought to Chungking by Pat Hurley as one of that eminent diplomat's two press agents and seems determined to avenge his ex-boss's humiliation. He has become a gold mine of misinformation about alleged efforts of foreign-service officers and OWI men to thwart Hurley. The Hearst paper depends chiefly on the notorious Karl Von Wiegand, who used to defend Japan's war on China as a crusade against bolshevism and now accuses the United States of wrecking China's crusade against bolshevism. In both papers the editorial line is that the new American policy means, not helping to save the Chinese from a new civil war, but a surrender to Moscow.

THE CHARACTERISTIC SECRECY that surrounds Russian plans and activities in Manchuria continues to stand in the way of a Chinese settlement. This secrecy is the more regrettable because there is strong justification for much that the Soviet government has been doing in China. Joint control of the Manchurian railroads and the special Soviet position at Dairen and Port Arthur are a sensible recognition of the shortsightedness of trying to keep the USSR a land-locked power; Moscow's hesitancy about withdrawing all its troops from the northeastern provinces while we retain our military forces in China is at least understandable, and even the elert and able A. T. Steele, of the New York *Herald Tribune*, who is by no means overly partial to Russia, declares that the autonomy movement in Inner Mongolia is the result of local restiveness rather than of Bolshevik machinations. Despite their good case in all of these instances, the Russians, by doing nothing to dispel the widespread belief that they are demanding additional rights and intend to carry on with a high hand militarily, are providing dangerous ammunition for the reactionaries who hate the thought of a democratic, progressive China.

THERE appears to be one other menace to peace. General Yen Hsi-shan, the virtually independent war lord of Shansi, who professes to be loyal to the Kuomintang and declares that his social experiments are more radical than Marx, has lined up 40,000 surrendered Japanese troops against the Chinese Communists, and has as one of his aides a Japanese lieutenant general. This is not a report from Communist sources but from Henry R. Lieberman of the New York *Times*, who visited Yen at his headquarters in Taiyuan and interviewed him and the Japanese General Sumita together. If Yen Hsi-shan should join with the KMT diehards in opposition to the agreement with the Reds he so bitterly hates, it would be a grave blow to the best hopes of the land.

The confusion and mutual stubbornness which mark the unhappy stalemate in Korea likewise threaten unfortunate repercussions in China, where the current precarious equilibrium between Left and Right could be readily upset by a violent conflict between somewhat similar forces in the former Japanese-ruled country. The best recent news from Korea is that the Democratic Representative Council from the American occupation zone, which is trying to reach an agreement on a temporary government with representatives from the Soviet zone, has come out on behalf of an advanced social program which might well bring together the democratic forces of the nation in a peaceful settlement. If it should work out, and both we and the Russians showed signs of leaving Korea to the Koreans by withdrawing our armies, the effect on all of the sullen Far East would be highly valuable.

Throughout the difficult negotiations that are going on amid so many complexities, the stature of General Marshall stands out heroically, and it is interesting to note that what he is trying to accomplish is just what General Stilwell and Ambassador Gauss were endeavoring to achieve during the precarious war days. In China things are usually never quite so bright or so dark as they seem, and it is still foolish to predict either a real settlement or a complete break; but, contrary to recent custom, affairs in China at least look better than they do in a number of other explosive areas throughout the world.

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Incipient Revolt

by H. N. Brailsford

Lahore

VERY SLOWLY, province by province, Indians are recording their political opinions at the polls. But their mood has found a more spontaneous expression in countless demonstrations in honor of the Indian National Army, which fought on the Japanese side in Burma. It is a mood of incipient revolt. The mass meetings and spectacular processions, the riots and the collections of money for this army's dependents mean only one thing. A disarmed people is trying to say that it envies the chance which came to these men to face the British Empire with arms in their hands. The birthday of their dead leader, Subhas Bose, was celebrated with mass meetings as a national holiday. His portrait is everywhere, and even in the dismal slums of Bombay the streets were decorated with flowers and flags. Congress has organized these demonstrations in spite of its pacificism and no one remembers now that Bose himself, once its president, was drummed out of its ranks. Even the Moslem League has had to take its part in backing the INA. That Bose, a passionate man with a reckless strain of idealism, miscalculated when he allied himself with the Axis; that the men who escaped the rigors of Japanese imprisonment when they joined him were prompted by mixed motives; that there are stains of brutality on the record of this army—all this Indians have forgotten! They have acquired a national hero who, for the first time since the Mutiny, led an army of liberation. How will they act in this mood?

IT IS not only the mood of the people that Britain has to consider. The Indian army is also affected. It watched the trial of three leading officers of the INA for treason and abetment of murder: no sooner were they convicted than they were pardoned and released. Today they are touring the country and addressing public meetings as popular heroes. This clemency was, after the original blunder of the public trial, a wise political act, but it has shattered the confidence of Indian officers, who hitherto had been loyal. Some of them have talked frankly to me about their experiences in this war. It was the painfully familiar story of unequal treatment and the color bar, even in the jungles of Burma. Allow what you will for exaggeration, the fact is that Indian officers are sore and bitter and bewildered. They argue that an army which cannot punish men guilty of active treason is nearing the end of its disciplined existence. To what new master must it look? Above all, how should it act if it is ordered to fire on its own countrymen? My impression is that the Indian army can no longer be isolated from the nation. Some officers are now saluting the tricolor flag of Congress when they meet it in the streets, and more than once in public places the men have shouted "Jai Hind," the slogan of the INA, Subhas Bose's army. It is even more significant that the Indian Air Force, which went on strike for better conditions of service, has collected a big purse for the men of the INA. It is clear that British rule cannot be prolonged by reliance on Indian bayonets.

SOLDIERS argue with realistic simplicity and few of them are politically conscious. It is otherwise with civilians. They watch our actions and weigh our words with an exaggerated subtlety. If soldiers cannot be sure that we mean to maintain our authority, civilians cannot believe that we really intend to hand over power. This skepticism is universal, and as yet the Labor Government has neither said nor done anything to allay it. It missed the chance to lessen the general bitterness by a complete political amnesty. Why, Indians ask, does it still retain the ban on the Socialist wing of Congress, and why is its leader, Jai Prakash Narain, with six hundred untried suspects, still in prison? It is fantastic that soldiers who fought against the Empire should be pardoned while hundreds of peasants, who sabotaged the railways during the revolt of 1942, should be serving long terms of imprisonment. Everywhere I have been, from Bombay to Peshawar, I was assailed by such questions. Others turn on our doings in Indonesia. The hardest question of all to answer is why, after suspending it during the war, we have now resumed the recruitment of British candidates for the permanent cadres of the Indian Civil Service?

But it is from the failure of the Simla Conference that the present mood of distrust must be dated. Congress went into those negotiations prepared for generous compromises and accepted a ratio of equality between Moslems and Hindus in the Central Government which Lord Wavell was trying to form, though the Moslems amount to only a quarter of India's population. When Mr. Jinnah broke up the conference by claiming all of the Moslem seats for his League, he certainly enhanced his own prestige. Moslems felt that he had scored a resounding victory

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over the Hindus and a drift of all the moderates and trimmers set in toward his camp. Indians, however, were not content to say that his tough tactics had succeeded. They argued from Lord Wavell's management of the conference that it is still our conscious policy to use Hindu-Moslem differences as an excuse for doing nothing. Mr. Jinnah, they believe, would have given way if the Viceroy had called his bluff and threatened to form the Central Government without his participation. Most of us regretted this weakness at the time, but few of us realized how gravely it had compromised the future. The first consequence was that the Moslem League now believes that it can extort its maximum demands by intransigence. The second consequence was that Congress and the nationalist Moslems have lost the last vestige of their faith in our sincerity.

MEANWHILE, as the elections proceed, it looks as if the results will present us with an even more complicated problem. The elections to the Central Assembly produced a delusively simple pattern. Congress won all the Hindu seats: the League swept the Moslem constituencies. For a moment it seemed that Pakistan could be the only possible solution. The sole ground for hesitating to draw this conclusion was that the franchise for these central elections includes less than two percent of the whole population. But the provincial elections, which drag on till the end of March, already promise a baffling diversity. Congress will sweep all the mainly Hindu provinces; it has even won an absolute majority in Assam. But it is doubtful whether the League will be able to form a government in any of the provinces it claims for Pakistan. If it can do it in one or two of the five, it will be only with the help of the European votes. Take, for example, the case of Sind. In this overwhelmingly Moslem province, the League won 27 seats and Congress 22, but there are eight Moslems of two independent groups who have already joined Congress in a coalition: three Europeans hold the balance, unless some trimmers should change sides. Though it is rash to risk a prediction, I have seen enough of the contest in the Frontier Province and Punjab to expect a somewhat similar result: no sober observer believes that the League can win an absolute majority or form a government in either of them. About Bengal it is too soon to guess.

The case for Pakistan is psychological. No one who has watched these bitter elections can fail to realize that the Moslems are bent on setting up in India a state which they will control and shape as a reflection of their own way of life. Mr. Jinnah's thesis that there are two distinct nations in India is an exaggeration of the platform. By descent most Indian Moslems are converts from Hinduism, and the villagers among them retain much of their inherited outlook and speak in their homes the same languages as their Hindu neighbors. But it would be equally false to argue that as yet a single Indian nation exists. Western education had done much to create it and the common opposition to alien rule had done more. But the Hindu institution of caste, with all the obstacles to social intercourse it involves, is still, though it is decaying rapidly, a deadly obstacle to unity. At railway stations Hindus and Moslems, packed together in overcrowded trains, must still drink from separate water-taps, and even in the modern luxury of New Delhi there are separate restaurants in the Legislative Assembly for the members of the two creeds. More decisive, however, than this social tension is the Moslem fear of the economic ascendancy of the Hindus. The Moslems were much slower in welcoming Western education and they are painfully conscious of their backwardness. The Hindus, with the Parsees, come near to monopolizing banking, insurance and large-scale industry.

There has been no reasoned debate over the merits of Pakistan. None the less, the result is likely to show that the balance of forces in the provinces claimed for this Moslem state is either unfavorable to the League or else indecisive. These provincial elections are, moreover, more important for three reasons than the central elections. The franchise is wider, for it includes 13 percent of the whole population. Second, the provinces enjoy responsible self-government. Finally it is from the provincial legislatures, if the Cripps plan is followed, that the Constituent Assembly will be chosen by indirect election. To sum up: the League can claim that Moslems in the central elections have cast an overwhelming vote for Pakistan. Congress can reply that the provinces have not confirmed this verdict. Yet by general consent they were regarded as the units of self-determination. To concede Pakistan without a plebiscite would now be impossible.

ON A CLOSE VIEW, these elections are not impressive. There is some violence, much bribery and more intimidation. I have heard the loudspeakers of the League cars shouting their slogan, "A curse on the infidel Hindus." Sometimes the Moslem clergy parade with a copy of the Koran to rally the faithful. The less scrupulous partisans are capable of threatening an illiterate peasant with the loss of his land, his water, his military pension and his hope of salvation in the next world. The law permits candidates to hire buses to carry their supporters to the poll and even to supply them with food within a fixed limit of expenditure. It is a trial of strength, in which property and fanaticism are ranged against the mass appeal of Congress.

This crisis calls for an honest and resolute mediator. But until, in some novel and dramatic way, Britain gives proof of her will to surrender power, there is not a single group of Indians that would trust the British government.

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FEPC Rally

by Ralph G. Martin

CLUSTERED near the raised platform in New York's Madison Square Garden, a dozen veterans were discussing the upcoming meeting and just what good it would do the cause of the FEPC.

Somebody mentioned the money it would raise to carry on the fight, another suggested how important the publicity was and a third young man said that such things were vital for the crystallization of ideas.

"I think that people come here for two reasons," said Michael Catchen, a former rifleman with the 84th Division. "First, to make sure that they're not beating their brains out for nothing. Then, more important, to find out that they're not alone, that there are so many other people who believe as they do."

Two pretty girls swished by and Catchen stopped talking long enough to examine them carefully, let out a low, appreciative whistle and murmured to his friend, "That's nice . . . that's very nice. . . ." Then, to the rest of the group, "That's the way I am, boys. No matter how intellectually interested I am in something, I always have room for a little sex."

His friend laughingly told him to shut up because I was taking it all down, but Catchen shook his head. "That's OK with me. It's about time people found out that liberals aren't pure and abstract things who wear vague haloes, that we're really human beings. Boy, if the time comes when I can't appreciate a cute set of curves, then you might as well bury me, brother. . . ."

Except for the veterans, who were volunteer ushers, and several dozen women who were busy folding programs, the huge Garden looked empty. There was a thin block of people in the first few rows of the mezzanine and a scattering elsewhere. The show wouldn't start for more than an hour yet.

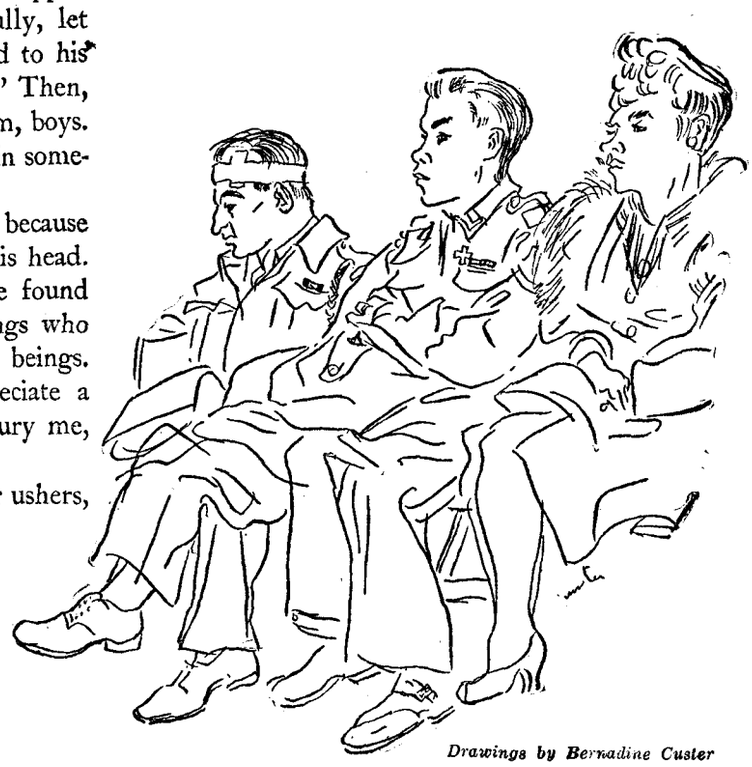
Sitting by themselves in the center of an empty section, two girls were impatiently chewing gum. They were early because they had come straight from work and their feet were tired, and besides it was terribly cold outside anyway.

"Tell me," asked the girl with glasses, "is Lucky Millinder and his band really going to play here tonight?"

Her girl friend was more interested in LaGuardia, because "he's given us the cleanest government we've ever had and I'd never seen him." Then she added, "You can also put down that Bea and I are both secretaries." Bea poked her and volunteered, "Better say receptionists."

Things were getting busier alongside the platform, where a young man was assigning a new group of usherettes to different sections and instructing them in the intricacies of coin collection. A pretty Negro girl was wandering around smiling, saying, "They made me a captain usher. Who wants to work for me in the balcony?" She soon had a small circle of white and Negro girls offering their names.

Close by, a red-faced man was going from group to group, asking, "Is there anybody here from Local 91? There must be somebody from 91. . . ."



Drawings by Bernadine Custer

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Even more worried was the chief of ushers, who kept muttering, "Can't understand it. We got 20,000 programs and only 16,000 seats and yet we're short of programs. Must be a maladjustment somewhere. . . ."

In a cold, bare room in back of the Garden, Canada Lee and a publicity girl were drinking containers of coffee, going over his script. He took time out to tell the one thing he didn't like about such meetings, that it stressed the Negro angle too much instead of concerning itself equally with all discrimination.

Then he turned to the publicity girl and half-laughed, "What the hell am I doing talking about things like this? I'm no intellectual. I didn't even graduate from public school."

Up front, people were pouring in fast and some of the speakers were already seated on the platform glancing over their scripts. One woman spotted a

friend on stage and rushed over to kiss her. At the microphone, Lucky Millinder's vocalist was getting excited about a song that sounded like, "Re Bubbly Bub . . ."

Soon the seven spotlights were playing on the stage and the master of ceremonies began to introduce the speakers. One of them mentioned Franklin Roosevelt and the cheers were deafening. Then came Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach, saying, "Our country and our way of life are on trial. The peoples of the world . . . are watching us . . . hoping and praying we shall not fail them."

Standing alongside the platform, watching intently, Barney Junker had some advice: "The thing is, you got to fight discrimination wherever you find it. Whether it's prison or college or church, you've got to fight it." He explained he had done just that in all three places. When he was imprisoned for being a conscientious objector, he had another three months tacked on to his term because he objected to the jail's Jim Crowism. Then there was this church, in New York, where he had taken his Negro friend, only to be told it was "a white man's church." "I guess I've been spoiled," he added, "because back in Galeton, Pennsylvania, people are judged as individuals."

Junker stopped talking to listen to the Frieda Louise Andrews choir of 1,000 women's voices. They were all dressed in black with white collars and sang a song about the FEPC:

> Some say we fight a losing cause
> But God's plan they can't see
> For He has power above all laws
> And likes FEPC.

Right after the song the publicity girl was around to explain that this was gospel singing, which is bright and happy, as compared to spirituals, which are sad. She also pitched in a boost for the master of ceremonies, Max Delson, chairman of the FEPC's New York Chapter, and the lawyer who won the first case against a New York hotel for discrimination against Negroes.

She then introduced Bob Delson, a brother of Max, who had arranged all the entertainment. "If everything comes out perfect, it'll be a miracle," said Bob, explaining that there had been so little time to get a finished script and to have any rehearsals. He was suggesting that the sketch have a surprise opening, like in "Waiting for Lefty," when the author himself came up to interrupt:

"Bob, if you have any influence, will you please get that choir to sing 'The Battle Hymn of the Republic' as soon as Helen Hayes finishes?" When Bob said he would, the author beamed as if he had won first prize on Take It or Leave It.

Schwellenbach and his wife had come backstage and were standing off to one side when his wife tugged his sleeve and said, "There she comes now . . . Mrs. Roosevelt."

Close behind was Fiorello LaGuardia, who was immediately greeted by a tall, blond guy who said, "Don't you remember, you married me. . . ." LaGuardia laughed. "Sure," he said, "and how did it take?"

Mrs. Roosevelt was still talking to the Schwellenbachs, and somebody suggested to LaGuardia that he go on the stage, but he shook his head. "Let Mrs. Roosevelt go first."

ON STAGE, Senator Chavez of New Mexico was saying that he had just begun to fight, that the FEPC was not dead, and suddenly everybody clapped and cheered. He modestly held up his hand for quiet until somebody whispered to him that the applause was for Mrs. Roosevelt, who had just taken her seat.

Soon afterwards, somebody handed her a sketch he had made of her husband and she stared at it for a few minutes. Standing near the platform, watching her, a white-haired Negro was telling how she had signed

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> There are very few people who will deny that there is a moral obligation upon all of us, and particularly upon our government, to ensure to all our people the inalienable right of every American to work, regardless of his race or color or creed or national origin. This right is basic. . . . If this is denied, then the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness becomes meaningless. – *Secretary of Labor Lewis B. Schwellenbach, speaking at the New York rally for a permanent FEPC.*

a picture of a huge poster he had made. The poster was made of Roosevelt's campaign buttons and was finished the day he died. "She and her husband are the greatest people who ever lived," he said.

Nearby a bobby-soxer rushed excitedly to her friend, "Orson Welles just came in and I got his autograph," she gasped. Her friend stood up straighter and answered back, "Well, I've got LaGuardia's autograph." The other bobby-soxer was puzzled. "Which is better?" she asked. "Why LaGuardia's of course, you dope," said her friend disgustedly.

When Mrs. Roosevelt was introduced, almost everybody in the audience stood up, clapping. A few were still seated near the press seats and you could hear a man loudly whispering, "What's the matter, are you crippled? Dammit . . . stand up . . ."

Back near the platform a woman was asking a friend, "Doesn't Mrs. Roosevelt look much older?" And further back, near the exit, Canada Lee was saying, "You know, that woman has become beautiful. . . ."

She stood there, tall and straight, talking softly, firmly, with a smile on her face, saying, "We must reiterate again and again and again our belief in these things." LaGuardia was staring at her, automatically nodding in agreement. "And we will win because our cause is just," she finished.

After her, LaGuardia was speaking, his arms intimately wrapped around the microphone, his voice informally friendly as if the Garden were just an oversize living room. "We cannot preach democracy if we do not practise it ourselves," he was saying and somebody in the audience yelled out, "That's right, you tell 'em, Butch . . ." And the crowd roared.

Squeezed in between speakers was a short number by two of Katherine Dunham's pupils which she called "Frustration Dance." That started a giggling session between two young usherettes until people around them started hissing for them to shut up.

ORSON WELLES was still standing behind a curtain backstage, waiting for his cue, when a reporter spotted him and burst out with, "Why did you come here, Mr. Welles? What good do you think you can do here? What good can anybody do, since everybody here is already convinced?"

For a short time only, Welles seemed surprised, then he flipped back with, "Well, it's like a revival meeting. It's more an emotional thing. Everybody comes here to get a new fervor, to strengthen his convictions. It's something you can't do by mail or by ringing doorbells."

Welles kept looking through the backstage door into the audience. Sitting in the front row of the orchestra were two Dutch soldiers, one with a bandage around his head. He had been doped, beaten up and rolled the first day he got here, he said. His name was Joseph Bamburger and he had been born in Holland, moved to California, and then went back to Holland to fight the Nazis. He and his friend were walking past the Garden when somebody offered them free tickets.

His friend was Philippe Cornelis Chin Yen-fung, now taking a degree in dentistry at Columbia. "This right here is real democracy," said Chin Yen-fung. "All these different people all mixed up in friendliness. If you could only prolong this atmosphere and spread it all over the country. . . ."

On stage, Roger Baldwin, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, was trying to pep up the money donations. "Bilbo going at $400 . . . going . . . going . . ."

Soon it was all over and all the lights were on, people filing out quickly. Watching the crowds go by was a man in new blue overalls, one of the 34 who would work until six in the morning tearing things down and building up again.

He hadn't listened to any of the speeches because he didn't like speeches, but he was glad to see LaGuardia looking so much happier than when he was Mayor.

As for the meeting, "Well, there were more people here than at a hockey game."

> *A. Philip Randolph:* In our silent, non-violent march on Washington, may we utter no word of hate against our enemies and oppressors. Let the Bilbos rant and rage. We shall pity them. We would not destroy them if we could. This is not the way to achieve truth, justice and freedom, and peace and brotherhood. Let the judgment of history rest upon their consciences and compensate their sins. We believe in the dignity of the human personality. . . .
>
> If there is no federal agency to which minorities can refer their economic complaints, such as the FEPC, following this war, like the last, there may come racial tensions, clashes and race riots. When men's stomachs are empty and their hearts are empty too, their heads cannot be appealed to.
>
> *Senator Denis Chavez:* If it be true that the advocates of fair play in America have suffered a temporary defeat, then I can only say to you the words of the late, great Heywood Broun: "When a good cause goes down to defeat in America, the only question is, When do we fight again?"

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Washington Notes

Loan to Britain; Policy Toward Russia

PATIENTLY, simply, repetitively, Administration fiscal spokesmen are spelling out the ABC's of world economics to the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in connection with the proposed British loan. Fred Vinson, Will Clayton and Marriner Eccles go over the same points again and again. There are more British than American newspaper correspondents in the big room. Many of them are seeing the American legislative workshop for the first time. They came prepared to be deliciously shocked by attacks on Britain, but what they chiefly find is abysmal ignorance. Cameramen wander about or wait silently, finger on trigger, for a smile or grimace from their quarry, when the flash-bulb pops. I listened to Eccles trying to explain three different times, quietly, casually, unhurriedly, to Republican Senator Homer Capehart (R, Ind.) the intricacies of multiple trade balances. Each time the press table would sigh resignedly. Pudgy, paunchy Capehart looked like a Gropper cartoon of an American capitalist, as he sat there, a big diamond on his fat finger, asking why we should hand out any money to foreign countries with unbalanced budgets.

Not a scrap of sentiment goes into the Administration argument; it is cold-blooded and unemotional, stressing always America's self-interest in reviving world trade and preventing Britain from being forced into defensive economic isolationism. Vinson points to the tragic, tobogganing red line on the chart, showing the wartime plunge of British assets, when every descending square meant an effort that saved ten thousand American lives. He makes no comment on moral values; it's just to illustrate a technical commercial transaction.

Prospects for the loan look better, I think. The committee-room mood tends to a reluctant acceptance of a necessary evil. By indirection, apprehension over Russia aids the loan to Britain, and the Churchill speech probably helped. Incidentally, in the first week's testimony there was little to support the fear, voiced in a quip attributed to Churchill, that the committee would twist the British loan's tail.

It would be less than candid not to report the grave apprehension over the Russian situation among Washington officials. Judicious men who cannot be accused of being anti-Russian, and who till now have hoped against hope for mutual understanding, believe that a showdown is at hand and are beginning seriously to question Soviet good faith. Winston Churchill knew perfectly well what was being said in high government circles when he spoke at Fulton. His proposal to formalize the already existing Anglo-American family understanding into a specific military pact was overwhelmingly rejected in the first American reaction. No other reaction seemed conceivable from a nation that doesn't want to underwrite the British Empire, or give even a hint that it is abandoning the UNO. But Churchill's bold shock tactics almost certainly took such first response into account in advance, as he planted the seeds of the idea. He has precipitated a discussion likely to crystallize many matters. Numbers of congressmen who have been applauding the Dulles-Vandenberg-Byrnes "get-tough-with-Russia" speeches are now suddenly realizing that being "tough" carries with it responsibilities, like military training and keeping the boys overseas, and that it also requires alternative diplomatic policies, such as closer relations with Britain, as an almost automatic corollary. American diplomats may be wrong, but they feel they have prepared the way for a test in Iran and Manchuria that is fair and at the same time leaves every possible ground open for conciliation. What they feel they should know, and know at once, is whether Russia is willing to handle common issues through the normal process of consultation, conference and compromise, or is now embarking on a definite course of one-sided action and isolationism.

Albert L. Warner, director of the Washington news staff of Station WOL, owned by the Cowles brothers (Des Moines *Register*, *Look*, etc.), broke all the canons of polite newscasting last week when he denounced another commentator on the same network of Mutual (owned 20 percent by the Chicago *Tribune*). A fortnight ago this column pointed out that the notorious Upton Close was back on the air, sponsored in weekly talks (Tuesday evenings, 10:15) by America Firster Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council. Close was accompanied on the air March 5 by Tyler Kent, the clerk in the London Embassy who took confidential government messages to his apartment where allegedly they reached pro-Germans. The "malevolent confusion" of Upton Close was too much for Warner, Mutual network or not, and he reviewed the sorry story—how Close was wrong about Pearl Harbor, wrong about Jap "gentleness" to captured U. S. prisoners, wrong about Spain. Now, Warner pointed out, Close is championing "Fascist Franco and the Nazi henchmen who are on top in Argentina." He added, "Where you find greed, selfishness and stupidity, there you will find Upton Close. You could see him there last night, with the Dictator Franco at one shoulder and the Argentine Nazi Peron at the other; and behind him, the eager specter of Hitler and the drooling war lords of Japan."

Well, well, it looks as if the Chicago *Tribune's* pet network might be in for a clean-up from the Cowles boys.

Notes. – For years there was an unspoken boycott of Henry Ford's cars by people who couldn't stomach his racial and political philosophy; now the protracted GM strike makes one wonder if Chevrolet will go on the blacklist of 15 million organized workers. . . . The Southern senatorial bloc is organizing a filibuster against the new minimum-wage bill; Senators like Ellender and Bilbo don't want wages of their home workers raised to a 65-cent minimum. . . . The movement to "balance" the budget here is really a misnomer; Marriner Eccles, for example, believes the budget should be "over-balanced," with sizable debt reduction and no cut in taxes. . . . Secretary Vinson is strongly backing Robert Nathan, New Deal brain-truster, for one of the three top posts under the new full-employment bill.

Washington T. R. B.

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Some New Records

BRUNO WALTER'S RECORDING of Mahler's Fourth Symphony with the New York Philharmonic (Columbia, M-589) is the first appearance of that work on records. It is a good recording of a lovely work, one worth owning. I have often thought that pro and anti-Mahler sentiment was based on comparatively slender evidence, for Mahler's work simply is not heard enough. This album gives the general public a better chance to form its own opinion. The Fourth is discursive rather than diffuse; it comes to twelve sides recorded—hardly an outsize symphony. The mood is lyric; the first movement is Viennese in the tradition of Schubert's Fifth Symphony and Beethoven's Eighth. The last movement is a setting for soprano and orchestra of an old folk-poem describing the pleasures of heaven.

Walter has a kind of warmth or graciousness, which has, I think mistakenly, been called sentimentality, and he gets the quality of the music wonderfully; Desi Halban's singing has the unaffected brightness the text requires. Technically the recording is good; the tone is accurate and rich, although in a few spots in my set the horns were blurred.

It would be instructive for someone, perhaps a Victor executive, to compare the Toscanini-Rubinstein recording of Beethoven's Third Piano Concerto, which I mentioned previously, with the new release of his First Piano Concerto, played by Anya Dorfmann, also with Toscanini and the NBC Symphony (M-1036). The newer release is all one could ask in fidelity and roundness of tone, in balance between solo and orchestra. The fact that it was recorded in Carnegie Hall, instead of in a laboratory, accounts for the difference. Miss Dorfmann does a first-rate job, coping brilliantly and accurately with virtuoso problems. I liked the first and second movements very much, but the tempo of the third seemed a shade too fast. This gave the rondo more seriousness than the music calls for, particularly in the orchestral restatement of the main theme just before the coda, which seemed overplayed. There are two previous recordings of this work, by Gieseking and Schnabel, the first unobtainable, the second available with luck and persistence. They are both excellent, and on the whole the new performance ranks with them. It is recorded on eight sides, instead of nine, as is the Schnabel. You save a dollar and avoid the fill-in, "Fuer Elise," which many people, especially those who have played it, spend years avoiding.

Toscanini and the NBC orchestra have provided another excellent reading and Victor another good recording—Haydn's Ninety-Eighth Symphony (M-1025). The work, of course, needs no recommendation. The release, I think, is the definitive version on records, the previous one being Barlow's with the CBS Symphony.

Two questions are posed by the release of Victor's M-1021, Debussy's Sacred and Profane Dances for harp and orchestra and the Ravel Introduction and Allegro for flute, clarinet, harp and string quartet, which feature Marcel Grandjany. The first is the identity of the orchestra and the assisting artists; the second, a why of recording policy. A guess at the first is the personnel of the Philadelphia Symphony, but it is mainly the musician's problem if companies want to save on royalties. The second is, whether there was any necessity for a new recording of the Ravel piece, which has been done twice before. Moyse, Laskine, Delecluse and the Calvet Quartet were more than competent; their performance came on two ten-inch records at a total cost of $1.50; you got what you wanted, and no more. It is still listed in the catalogue, but eight months ago it took a friend of mine six weeks to find a copy.

I do not think the Dances (they were recorded in an early Stokowski album) as interesting or beautiful as the Introduction. The sacred dance is pleasant; the profane dance is barely secular. The performances are good; the anonymous flutist and clarinetist are excellent. As for the recording, the highs were somewhat distorted in the Ravel.

Among the older recordings back on the market now are: Mozart, Linz Symphony (No. 36), Beecham and the London Philharmonic; Bach, Concerto for Piano in D minor, Edwin Fisher; Tchaikowsky, "Aurora's Wedding," Kurtz and the London Philharmonic. NAOMI HOROWITZ

The Bandwagon

There unquestionably was no historical counterpart of the appearance of Churchill here [Fulton, Missouri]—a political leader rejected by the voters of his own country who journeyed to the heart of a friendly nation to launch, with tacit presidential approbation, a devastating political attack on another friendly power and former ally—Russia. And Churchill underscored the presence of the President, who, he said, "has traveled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here today." —*Thomas F. Reynolds in* PM.

. . . Cardinal Spellman, denouncing all authoritarian governments, also stressed the necessity for freedom of worship. It was reported that he was leaving Rome for Spain with a special message for Generalissimo Franco from the Pope. —*From the World News Summary of the New York* Times.

JOHN L. LEWIS IN AFL

William Green expected to lose job soon. —*Head and subhead in the* People's World, *Oakland, California.*

Scientist Predicts Rocket Flights; Warns of Inconveniences. —*Headline in the Pasadena* Star-News.

Comes the Dawn

One result of the study leading to the revised English courses, was the discovery by school statisticians that slow pupils are frequently exposed to bad English in their homes, their communities, or both, and that there is sometimes a direct connection between low-income homes and backward pupils. —*From the Washington* Times-Herald.

Cat's-Away Department

The second advertisement of the National Association of Manufacturers' series outlining a three-point anti-inflation program appears today in more than 450 daily newspapers and 150 weeklies. The current advertisement urges readers to tell their representatives in Congress how removal of government price controls will speed up production. . . . Benton & Bowles is the agency. —*From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* —THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

Liberals Who Hate Russia

SIR: Bruce Bliven calls proper attention to "the new line of isolationists and America Firsters" (the *New Republic*, February 4). Now that the war is over, they are reasserting their prewar vigor chiefly by seeking a tearful amnesty for the "innocent" Germans and stirring up a war-diminished hatred of Russia deeply implanted in Americans for two decades by a distortive press.

Amid all the pacifist and isolationist justifications that form the expanding spearhead of fascist recrudescence, no mention is ever made of the focal question of the age: the atomic bomb, in its relation to us (a) if Germany had won the war and thus inevitably developed the A-bomb; and (b) in the possibility of a future atomic war, inevitable if the hate-Russia group succeeds in poisoning the masses.

Most direly significant is the banding together of ex-liberals, frustrated idealists and misguided progressives who give weighty voice to the renewed isolationist aims. Such writers have a way of cropping up with these anti-Russian, pro-fascist articles in apparently unrelated publications, but they also converge in the weekly *Progressive* and the *New Leader*.

Here the danger becomes subtle, because on several domestic issues these weeklies are liberal. But there's the rub: the editor of the *Progressive* writes me, in effect: "We're for labor coöps, housing, etc. . . . How dare you call us Fascistic, you Communist, you?" Now, when I read the Chicago *Tribune*, I know in advance that I will get a full dose of uncompromising reaction, but reading the *Progressive*, I am duped into swallowing bitter anti-Russian purgatives coated with sugary pro-labor dissertations.

This double-dealing policy could logically redound to the utter crushing of piecemeal liberalism. For example, the *Progressive* has championed the John T. Flynn-Pearl Harbor slanders to the hilt, as part of its general policy. Now, assuming that Roosevelt should be successfully indicted in the judgment of Americans, the isolationist-desired result would allow reaction to swamp the country, sweeping away the recent gains of liberalism.

In the press I have noted predictions that the moribund Progressive Party will direct its final totter squarely into the Republican political camp. On the basis of its long continued isolationist principles, this once wayward but now contrite offspring has more than earned the forgiving embrace of the parent GOP.

La Salle, Ill. DOMINIC PIZZUTI

Vocational Opportunities for Negroes

SIR: We should like to direct to the attention of your readers the National Urban League's fourteenth annual Vocational Opportunity Campaign. Its principal aims are the promotion of democratic practices in the employment of Negro workers and the encouragement of Negro young people to prepare themselves for satisfying employment. Coöperating with the national organization and its 54 local affiliates are scores of schools, colleges, youth groups and civic organizations in every section of the country. The entire month of March has been designated for this activity, while the week of March 10-16 has been selected for special educational projects designed to acquaint the public with its objectives.

For 36 years the League has observed the changing fortunes of Negro workers and helped them chart a course of action to facilitate their complete integration into the American labor force. In the past five years the League has developed an Industrial Relations Laboratory, with which 300 industrial firms throughout the country coöperated to furnish data relating to the adjustment of the Negro war workers. The results of this and other research in this field have been carefully analyzed and the information is now being used to counsel and advise employers as well as employees.

During the Vocational Opportunity Campaign, this wealth of factual material will serve to acquaint young people with current trends in employment and skills required to qualify for desirable jobs. In this thoroughly realistic manner, the League seeks to broaden occupational horizons for thousands of Negro boys and girls for whom the choice of vocations has long been a matter decided more by accident than by careful design.

JULIUS A. THOMAS, Director,
Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League
New York City

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The *Magazine of Art* sends us proof of correspondence dealing with the removal of German-owned art from public museums to the storage rooms of the National Gallery in Washington for safekeeping. The action was protested by several Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Specialist Officers of the Army and by art associations in the United States, on the grounds that our unilateral removal of the collections might cause our allies to do likewise in their zones, that some of the paintings belonged to museums in other occupation zones and that a neutral repository in Europe for works of art which could not be safely stored would be more accessible to our allies and, eventually, to the Germans.

We have received the first of a series of educational pamplets to be published by the Research Department of the British Labor Party—a history of the rise of the Party in England. Further subjects will include Nationalizing the Bank of England and Investment Control, Local Government Reform and Housing. A year's subscription to the series costs one dollar, and may be obtained from the Labor Publications Department, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S. W. 1.

The Workers' Defense League sends us a copy of a letter it has written to President Truman requesting that he use his amnesty power to free Rafael Lopez Rosas and 40 other advocates of Puerto Rican independence who were imprisoned for refusing to serve in the United States Army.

Our St. Louis readers may be interested in joining the Liberal Voters' League there which is affiliated with the Union for Democratic Action. Inquiries and applications for membership may be addressed to Mrs. Simon Edison, 4 Fordyce Lane, Clayton 5, Missouri.

The Reverend George G. Hollingshead, treasurer of the Longo Defense Committee, 574 Jersey Avenue, Jersey City 2, New Jersey, appeals to *New Republic* readers for contributions to support the trial, which opened March 4. He explains that the money is required for examination of the voting record by experts and for stenographic courtroom work. "The importance of this phase of the defense is best indicated by the utter desperation in which the Hague forces were trying to prevent a trial," he writes, and points out that this is an "opportunity for a people's victory against machine fascism."

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properly "in an atmosphere in which it is accused of being weak and ineffective on the one hand, and possessed of powerful revolutionary tendencies on the other."

Mr. Smith effectively disposes of both these worn old hands. The management of the war by the governmental bureaucracy was "the greatest single job of management in all history" and was carried through successfully in the face of monumental difficulties. At the same time, the "approach and ideals" of democracy were fully maintained.

Mr. Smith is interested in seeing that we continue to maintain those ideals and improve that approach. This can be done, he believes, by strengthening administrative management and by properly staffing the presidency. Planning is essential in the modern state and is an integral part of both the political and administrative processes. It is the failure to understand that under our system of government, "the objectives of planning come from the grass-roots" which leads people to fear the implementation of those objectives by administrative planning.

While the problems of administrative responsibility are not systematically treated by Mr. Smith, they constitute in fact the principal theme of his book. He correctly sees that "the relationship between the legislative and executive branches largely determines the success or failure of democratic government"; and in common with many others, he regards existing relationships as imperfect. But he avoids the fallacy, which has ensnared so many of our less-informed publicists, of thinking that congressional control can be strengthened by weakening the executive branch.

On the contrary, Mr. Smith cogently argues that responsible bureaucracy is a possible adventure only to the extent that the executive branch is adequately equipped to perform its managerial functions, including planning and the careful formulation of policies to meet objectives determined by the people's representatives in Congress. The Executive Budget is a valuable tool for this purpose, but the presidency is not adequately staffed today for the sort of broad economic planning that is needed to maintain a full-employment economy.

I wish that Mr. Smith had more fully developed this argument, for it touches one of the crucial problems of our day. He speaks, for example, of the real distinction between "legislative" and "administrative" planning—a distinction which needs always to be made. But it is easy for those who concentrate on management problems to think only of the President in his capacity as Chief Administrator and to neglect his increasingly important political role as Chief Legislator. To some extent, Mr. Smith does just this.

In every country in the world there is a clearly defined and readily understandable trend toward executive responsibility for the formulation of over-all programs for legislative consideration. To a growing degree, this function is the essence of the presidency in its political phase. Its proper performance calls for a different type of planning and a different sort of staff from those engaged in planning the administrative policies necessary to reach declared legislative goals.

The late President Roosevelt met this need by a brilliant improvisation—the Brain Trust. To a large extent, it has been met during the last two years by the operation of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Both devices have been temporary makeshifts and the permanent character of the presidential department remains to be determined. In it, the management functions of the Bureau of the Budget, so graphically portrayed in this volume, will naturally continue to find a place. But there will also have to be room for economic and political staffs independent of the fiscal agencies.

On all of these questions—and many others—this bureaucrat who is also a democrat makes wise and significant observations. The book exhibits some of the usual defects of collected papers written on diverse subjects at different times. But it is unified by a consistent and mature political philosophy and by a reasonable intensity of focus. It makes a valuable contribution to our thinking on a series of issues which lie close to the heart of the democratic process.

J. DONALD KINGSLEY

Blueprint and Reality

The Great Retreat: The Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia, by Nicholas S. Timasheff. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 470 pages. $5.

MR. TIMASHEFF is one of that little band of Russian émigrés who have made it their mission in life to mislead the English-speaking world about the USSR, an enterprise which, of course, receives enthusiastic support and encouragement from the kept press. Since the present work, with its scholarly trappings and air of objectivity, is more than ordinarily misleading, it is, I suppose, fair to assume that it will receive more than the ordinary share of acclaim and will become for some time a standard authority

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and source of inspiration for columnists, hack writers, *et hoc genus omne*.

A full review of the misrepresentations, distortions, half-truths and absurdities in this book would require a volume almost as long as Mr. Timasheff's, but there is one basic fault which overshadows all the others. Mr. Timasheff tells us in the foreword that, "The purpose of this book is to show the Communist Revolution in Russia and its aftermath in its correct historical perspective." His method is to compare what has actually happened in the USSR with (a) the Marxist "blueprint," and (b) what would have happened if there had been no revolution. The trouble with the approach is (a) that there never was such a thing as a Marxist "blueprint," and (b) that Mr. Timasheff has no idea what would have happened in Russia if there had been no revolution. Achieving "correct" historical perspective therefore turns out to involve a comparison of Mr. Timasheff's in many ways peculiar version of events in the Soviet Union, on the one hand with Mr. Timasheff's version of the imaginary Marxist blueprint, and on the other hand with Mr. Timasheff's obviously wishful dreams about what would have happened if there had been no revolution. One would have to be a very firm believer in Mr. Timasheff to find this enlightening.

But unhappily it is not hard to show that Mr. Timasheff hardly merits so full a measure of confidence. His misrepresentations of Marxism are of the commonest and most tiresome sort. For example, it is well known that, from the founding fathers on, Marxism has consistently fought against Utopias and blueprints; yet Mr. Timasheff sees no inconsistency in calling the Bolsheviks both Marxists and Utopians. The blueprint which he ascribes to them contains much that Marxists have often expressly disavowed: *e.g.*, immediate withering away of the state, equality of remuneration, immediate liquidation of all traces of nationalism, etc., etc. And, conversely, Mr. Timasheff manages to relegate the one really basic programmatic principle of Marxism to a position of minor importance. This principle, of course, is the abolition of private property in the means of production, and Marxists expect that from it much else will flow in the course of a lengthy process of historical evolution.

When we examine Mr. Timasheff's ideas about what would have happened if there had been no revolution, our confidence suffers a further jolt. He interprets pre-revolutionary Russia in the most favorable, and even flattering, way, selects certain trends from this rosy picture and projects them into the future. As a result he comes out in 1940 with a highly industrialized and thoroughly democratic state from which all such evils as landlordism and illiteracy have been abolished. To test the reliability of this method, just apply it to Germany, where there was no Bolshevik revolution. By Mr. Timasheff's kind of reasoning, Germany should have been very close to the millennium by 1940.

Mr. Timasheff wants his readers to absorb two main lessons. The first is that in the USSR the period from 1934 onward has witnessed a Great Retreat from Communism and a return toward pre-revolutionary normality. Actually the retreat is from the Timasheff blueprint, which, in the premises, may best be likened to the flowers that bloom in the spring. And the return to prewar normality is nothing but wishful thinking. Even the author cannot claim that there has been the slightest tendency to abandon the principles of planned socialist economy. Nor would one be justified in assuming, for example, that the Orthodox Church which is once again finding a respectable place in Russian society is the same as the Orthodox Church which, from the time of Peter the Great, was more than anything else an instrument and support of czarist autocracy. Nevertheless, it must be emphatically stated that the year 1934 did in fact constitute a turning point in Soviet history, and this may lead the unwary reader to see more merit in Mr. Timasheff's theory than is actually there. The turning point of 1934 reflected not the beginning of a retreat from communism but rather two factors which Mr. Timasheff strangely slurs over: the successful establishment of the industrial and agricultural foundations of a socialist economy, and the rise to power of fascism in Germany.

The second lesson which Mr. Timasheff wants to drive home is, in his own words, "that a nation cannot gain more through a Communist Revolution than through reforms in the framework of democracy, under the guidance of men of good will and correct and inspiring vision." This may or may not be so; but in any case, Mr. Timasheff has conclusively shown that trying to prove it from the experience of Russia is not a very promising undertaking

PAUL M. SWEEZY

New Republic News

New Republic readers keep asking us who "T. R. B." is. For the past twenty-three years his identity has been a well kept secret. During that time, several individuals have carried on the column, duplicating the style so successfully that very few readers have spotted the changes. The idea of "T. R. B." was born during a ride on the old Brooklyn Rapid Transit subway, and—just between us and not to be repeated—"T. R. B." is Transit R. Brooklyn, one of the most popular journalists in America.

In addition to Mr. Brooklyn, we have obtained two fairly well known figures as contributors for the Roosevelt Memorial Supplement to appear with the April 15 issue: President Truman and Winston Churchill. We'll tell you more about the supplement next week.

Contributors

E. Schloss is the well known political cartoonist of the French newspaper, *France-Amérique*. His work has appeared frequently in the New York *Times*, the New York *Herald Tribune* and in a number of other periodicals.

J. Donald Kingsley is currently labor adviser and director for manpower in the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. His most recent book is *Representative Bureaucracy*, published last year by the Antioch Press.

Paul M. Sweezy is the author of *The Theory of Capitalist Development*, a second printing of which, containing a long new preface, will be issued shortly by the Oxford University Press. A Faculty Instructor of Economics at Harvard University, he has recently served in the AUS.

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